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# THE ARCE NEWSLETTER

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AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT  
INCORPORATED

1117 International Affairs Building  
Columbia University  
New York, New York  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
Telephone: 212-280-2045

2, Midan Qasr el-Doubara  
Garden City, Cairo  
ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT  
Telephone: 3548239/3553052  
Cable Address: AMARCH  
CAIRO  
Telex: 93773 AMEMB UN  
Attn: USIA/ARCE

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The Search for Truth:

A Preliminary Report on the Presentation of Maat

As a Fellow of the American Research Center in Egypt for 1985-6, I spent six months in Cairo and Luxor continuing my study of Maat, the ancient Egyptian goddess of truth and cosmic order. This goddess is known from the early Old Kingdom (4th Dynasty, ca.2500 B.C.) but there was an apparent rise in interest in her cult in the New Kingdom when scenes of Maat frequently appear in tombs and adorn the wall reliefs of the great temples.

The goddess Maat is easily identified in her personification as a woman who wears a single ostrich feather in her hair. As the goddess of "truth" she is associated with right-dealing in daily conduct, as well as with the cosmic order of the universe; with the rising of the Nile, the setting of the sun; with all the natural phenomena which were so predictable and therefore pleasing to the ancient Egyptians. All facets of truth were interrelated. To transgress against one aspect of truth ran the risk of endangering the larger concept of truth and perhaps the entire cosmic order. As echoed in the Old Kingdom Teachings for Kagemni ("Do Maat for the king, for Maat is what the king loves") the king was the protector and upholder of the principles of truth.

The overall sense of how the qualities and principles of Maat guided social behavior has been recognized by Egyptologists. My research as an ARCE Fellow dealt with the more specialized role of the goddess as a cult offering. From the New Kingdom onward, Maat was portrayed as a tiny



seated woman who the king offers to the gods (fig. 1). The general significance of this offering is not too difficult to guess; it is a reflection of the constant "I do for you that you may do for me" reciprocal relationship that existed between the pharaoh and the gods. The king presents the image of the goddess Maat to the gods as a visible symbol that he acts in accordance with truth, and thus the gods grant the king such benefactions as "An eternity of years of kingship", "a lifetime like Re", and "very many jubilees".

This general type of scene of the presentation of Maat is well-known to Egyptologists, but like many other facets of ancient Egyptian iconography, it has not been subjected to an in-depth examination. My ARCE-funded work allowed me to establish a vast catalogue of scenes and thus to develop a chronological history of the scene from its first occurrence to the end of the Third Intermediate Period (1504-650 B.C.). Of special interest to my study is the date of the first appearance of the scene and if the incidence and form of the motif changed in response to any perceivable political or religious changes.

My six months in Egypt consequently were spent peering at every accessible tomb and temple surface, collecting new scenes and checking citations from Porter and Moss' *Topographical Bibliography*. Very little time was lost waiting for permissions, keys and the other potential problems and pit-falls of research thanks to the Egyptian Antiquities Organization's (EAO) efficient handling of my requests.<sup>1</sup>

A very valuable source for my research was the photo archive of Chicago House, the Luxor-based headquarters of the Epigraphic Survey of the

University of Chicago.<sup>2</sup> The 20,000 prints of a wide variety of Egyptian tombs and temples proved to be the only way of checking certain scenes that could not be seen from the ground, or which have simply disappeared through vandalism or erosion.

A major part of my study was concerned with the presentation of Maat in the Amarna Age (1350-1334 B.C.). This period, dominated by the "heretic pharaoh" Amenhotep IV (Akhenaton) and his wife Nefertiti, is fraught with historical problems. I entered the Amarna ring with some trepidation and with the single express purpose of determining if the presentation of Maat was shown on the reliefs of the king who, after year five of his reign, banned all gods except the sun god, the Aton.

The monuments of the Amarna age fall into two main groups; those structures mainly at Thebes, built in the early period of the reign when the pharaoh still styled himself Amenhotep IV; and the monuments at Tell el Amarna near Mallawi, built later in the more "monotheistic" period of his reign. I concentrated upon the monuments of the earlier period. These materials however pose their own special problems tied up in the historical events which followed the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaton. To summarize very briefly: shortly after the death of the "criminal of Amarna" as he was known to later pharaohs, the monuments of Amenhotep IV at Thebes were dismantled and the small-scale sandstone blocks, now known as *talat* (from the Arabic word "talaata"; "three" as the stones are three hands across in size) were incorporated into other structures. It is evident that the Aton temples of Amenhotep IV were located somewhere in and near the precinct of the Temple of Amun at Karnak. One such temple was located to the east of the Nectanebo gate on the east side of the vast



temple enclosure. A group of other temples, of unknown original location were dismantled by pharaoh Horemheb (1321-1293B.C.).<sup>3</sup> The *talatat* were used as interior fill primarily in the IXth and Xth pylon on the transverse axis of the Karnak complex and in the foundations of the Temple of Amun's Hypostyle Hall.

The *talatat* are easily recognizable by their unusual size and for their peculiar decorative style and curious small-scale relief (fig. 2). Their presence had been remarked upon many times in the early decades of this century and by 1921 the EAO began clearing the blocks from the interior of the IXth Pylon. In recent years the west wing of the pylon has been completely emptied of *talatat* as the Centre Franco-Égyptien des Temples de Karnak (C.F.E.T.K.) begins the reconstruction of the monument. In 1940, Herni Chevrier, excavating on behalf of the EAO recovered several thousand more blocks from the interior of the II<sup>nd</sup> Pylon (also constructed by Horemheb), and more recently, stones have been recovered from the Xth pylon. A scattering of stones have been recovered from other locations at Luxor including those from the EAO's Avenue of Sphinx excavations and the excavations of the Treasury of Thutmose I at Karnak North.<sup>4</sup> A great number of blocks have been found in the vicinity of the Luxor Temple three kilometers away.

The vast majority of *talatat* have been photographed, but only a fraction of them have been published. The EAO has divided the approximately 47,000 stones among two different concessions, the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the C.F.E.T.K. The Pennsylvania group, dubbed the Akhenaton Temple Project, headed by Dr. Donald B. Redford, is studying some 35,000 blocks from a variety of sources including thousand

from the environs of the Luxor Temple (fig. 3). Starting in 1966, the University of Pennsylvania photographed and computer coded each of the blocks in preparation for joining the stones, much like the world's oldest and largest jig-saw puzzle. Each *talatat* photo was sorted according to general motif: "name of the Aton", "king facing right", "horses" etc. As matches were made, the appropriate photos were moved from the sorting sheet to a matched scene sheet. The Akhenaton Temple Project has published one volume of the painstakingly recovered scenes and another is currently in press.

One copy of the photographic records of the ATP are stored at Chicago House, Luxor where I had the opportunity to examine them.<sup>5</sup> This was a very time consuming process. A difficulty was posed by the nature of the materials themselves: the ATP researchers mounted their photographs on sheets of glass to enable them to see the block reference numbers penciled on the back of each photograph. These plates were very heavy and rather fragile. Yet another problem was posed by an unfortunate and ultimately tragic traffic accident several years ago that dumped the ATP materials onto the highway and into the Nile. Being among the first people to work with the materials since the accident, I acted as researcher and "conservator".

The C.F.E.T.K. began their work on the *talatat* in 1967. They had the considerable advantage of working primarily with stones which were still in the IXth Pylon, allowing them to systematically remove the blocks in much the same order in which they were placed in the pylon 3,000 years before. To date, they have recorded approximately 12,000 stones most of which have been recovered from the west wing of the IXth Pylon. The



*talatat* in the C.F.E.T.K. concession have recently been computerized to facilitate joining of blocks. With this program, one can simply ask the computer to select all blocks with, for example, scenes of horses, agriculture, boats etc. My study of 12,000 file photographs turned up only one example which the computer search had missed.<sup>6</sup>

My examination of a total of 47,000 *talatat* photos revealed 24 examples of the presentation of Maat. Although this number seems small considering the amount of material necessary to sift through, it was highly illuminating for my study as it revealed that the presentation of Maat was more common in the early Amarna age than in the periods immediately before or after.

One of the most important results of my fellowship period was the development of a chronology of the presentation of Maat. Specifically, the scene of the presentation of Maat first occurs in the time of Thutmose III.<sup>7</sup>

The number of scenes of the presentation of Maat from Amarna monuments at Thebes greatly outnumber the scenes preserved on the Theban monuments erected in the pre and post-Amarna 18th Dynasty.<sup>8</sup> During the next dynasty in the reign of Seti I (1291 B.C.), the scene is very commonly used for temple decoration and it continues to be a popular motif through the Third Intermediate Period and the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>9</sup> However, in every chronological period the ritual is relatively uncommon compared to other cult scenes such as censuring, or the presentation of specific offerings such as milk, flowers or wine.

This basic "history" of the use of the scene obtained during my A.R.C.E. Fellowship forms a basis for viewing the presentation of Maat against the

background of religious and political change and interpreting how the ritual functioned within the framework of Egyptian theology.

Emily Teeter

ARCE Fellow 1985-6

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## Notes

1. Special thanks and acknowledgements go to Dr. Ahmed Kadry, Mr. Mettawa Balboush, Mr. Mohammed el-Saghayyir, and to Mr. Sayed Abdel Hamid of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization. I would also like to thank Dick Verdery, Cairo Director of A.R.C.E. for expediting my permissions, and the staff of the Cairo office, especially Amira and Salah upon whom so many small but vital tasks fell.
2. I would like to express my deepest thanks to Dr. Lanny Bell, Field Director of Chicago House for so much material and spiritual kindness. The use of Chicago House's facilities, including office space and occasional lodging made my fellowship far more productive.
3. Certain *talatat* indicate that Tutankhamun started the destruction of the Aton temples to reuse the stones for his own structures. cf. C.F.E.T.K. block 25-209 which was possibly reused by Tutankhamun. This reuse and redecoration of *talatat* is distinct from the policy of Horemheb and later rulers who concealed the *talatat* within larger structures.
4. Obviously, these come from the Ramesside renovation of the building.
5. My gratitude goes to Dr. Donald B. Redford, University of Toronto, who allowed me to examine the ATP *talatat* materials stored at Chicago House.
6. I would like to acknowledge the kind assistance of Dr. Jean-Claude Goyon, Institut d'Égyptologie V. Loret in Lyon and Dr. Jean-Claude Golvin, Françoise Le Saout and Robert Vergnieux of the C.F.E.T.K., Luxor all of whom facilitated my work on the *talatat* materials.
7. The earliest scenes of the presentation of Maat appear in the Temple of Amun: PM II, 91 (260); 95, (270), (271), all Thutmose III.

8. Dividing the 18th Dynasty into blocks of time when one might expect to find the presentation of Maat (ie: after the time of Thutmose III) results in 195 "non-Amarna years" which have yielded 11 scenes of the presentation of Maat. The 16 Amarna years have produced 25 examples (24 *talatat*, 1 non-*talatat* source) of the ritual and surely more examples will come to light as the eastern wing of the IXth Pylon is cleared. Chronology from E.F. Wente and C.C. Van Siclen, *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1976) 218.
9. For example, 70 scenes of the presentation of Maat occur among the reliefs which decorate the mortuary temple of Ramses III.



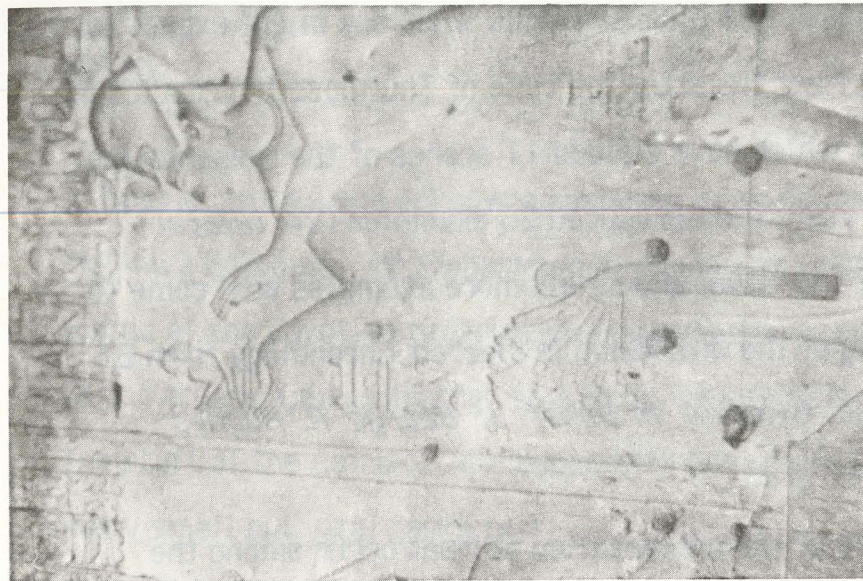


fig. 3. *Talatat* stacked to the east of the Colonnade Hall of Luxor Temple.

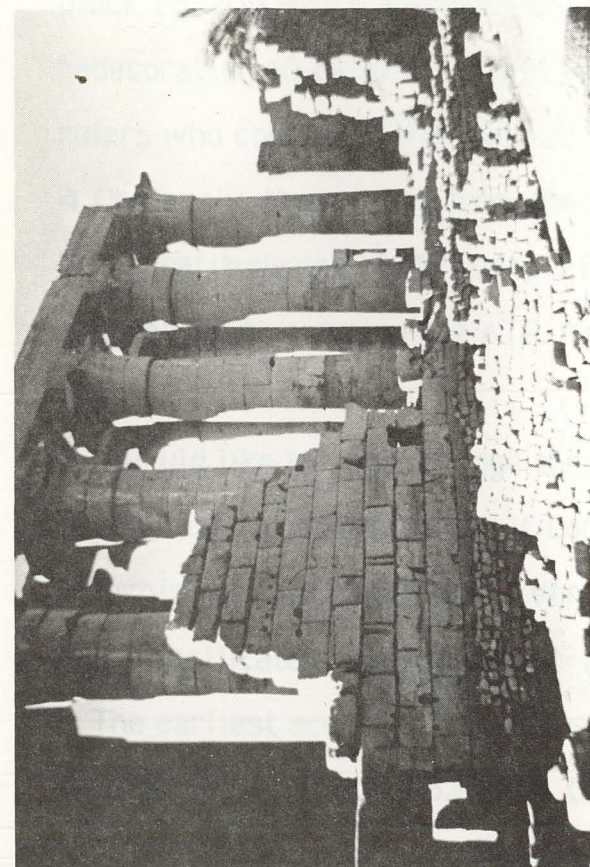


fig. 1. The presentation of Maat: Temple of Seti I at Abydos.



fig. 2. Typical *talatat*

# NON-ROYAL WOMEN'S TITLES IN THE 18th EGYPTIAN DYNASTY

The purpose of my research in Egypt this year is to collect data for a catalogue of non-royal women's titles in the 18th Egyptian dynasty. (I had hoped to cover the 13-17th dynasties as well, but have found few clearly datable examples as yet. Perhaps more research in libraries at home will help in this direction, but even without the Second Intermediate Period material, the results for the 18th dynasty will be clearly indicative of trends. My work here in Egypt has been funded by a Fellowship grant of the Smithsonian Institution and administered through the American Research Center in Egypt Fellowship program. I am most grateful to all concerned.

The women in whom I am interested are the wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of the more important men in Egypt. I am hoping to document as many of these women as possible, establishing whenever possible their family connections, and placing them within a reign or at least to a segment of the dynasty. This is possible more than one might suspect due to the wealth of Theban tomb material, much on which is dated by cartouche. (Naturally one must consider whether the king(s) names in any tomb are contemporary, but this is a good beginning nonetheless.)

The catalogue will be arranged chronologically with an entry for each woman and a summary of information with bibliography. Whenever possible facsimiles of titles and names will be provided, and photographs of relevant monuments will be used accordingly as costs allow. At the end of entries through Tuthmosis II, Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III and Horemheb there will be placed those women who cannot be dated more specifically than "Early 18th", "Early mid-18th", "Late mid-18th", and "Late 18th". The dating for these monuments will be based largely on stylistic analysis, known genealogical links, orthographic features, or internal textual evidence. The catalogue will also include any conclusions which may be made concerning the titles held by the women. This section will focus on 1) cult titles for as many different temples as are represented and 2) court functions and/or honorifics. Although this study cannot hope to be exhaustive given the many museums world-wide which I cannot visit personally, it will very probably be as representative as our remains from Egypt are.

My work in the tombs at Thebes was largely in 18th dynasty chapels, but I added a few Ramesside ones in order to be aware of changes both in titles and in tomb styles. Of course many of the tombs are published, and many others are available for study through the photo archives held at the Griffith Institute, at Chicago House in Luxor, and elsewhere. I am indebted to Dr.



Jaromír Málek of the Griffith Institute for the opportunity to use the rich archives of the Institute, particularly the Mond photographs. And I am grateful to Dr. Lanny Bell, Director of Chicago House, for access to the Library's vast facilities throughout my stay in Luxor.

A few of the results of my work at Luxor and in Cairo follow here:

In tomb 96 Lower, of Sennefer, Mayor of Thebes in the reign of Amenhotep II, ca. 1436-1410 B.C., four women with titles (other than nbt pr) may be found a snt (literally "sister," but also "wife" at this time) of Sennefer, Sentnefer, bears in one scene šm't n Imn "Songstress of Amun" as title, and in another the title mn't nsw "Royal Nurse". In both scenes, which occur in the small anteroom of the lower tomb, Sentnefer appears with the emblems of temple priestesses, the sistrum and menat. In the scene terming her Songstress, she is actively shaking the sistrum; this may well be intentional in the context of the two scences which flank the doorway into the main chamber. It is certainly true that the occurrences of sistrum and/or menat are highly correlated with Singers' titles on all types on monuments, and here the action is specifically shown with the relevant rank. Sentnefer does not appear in the tomb with a royal child.

Also depicted in the anteroom is Sennefer's daughter Muttuy, likewise a "Songstress of Amun". I believe this same woman may be identified with the wife of the succeeding Mayor of Thebes, Kenamun, owner of Tomb 162. That Muttuy was also a Songstress of Amun, and her marriage to her father's successor either as cause or effect would have been quite natural. The mother of Muttuy is uncertain; she may have been Sentnefer or Meryt, the wife shown in the main chamber of 96 Lower. (An unnamed daughter appears on a pillar beneath Meryt's chair.) But Muttuy's mother was probably not Sentnay, also a Royal Nurse and Sennefer's chief wife judging from 96 Upper and her numerous funerary objects (some found in the Valley of the Kings). In tomb 29 of Amenemipet, brother of Sennefer, Muttuy is shown offering before Sennefer and Sentnay, termed "Royal Nurse". Here exceptionally Muttuy has the title snt mn'(t?) n nb t3wy, "Sister of the Nurse for the Lord of the Two Lands". I discussed this term in JSSEA 9 (1979) 117-25, but I have since realized that the "royal nurse" in question in this instance is none other than Sentnay herself. In viewing the scene in tomb 29, one realizes that establishing Muttuy's relationship to Sennefer and his wife Sentnay is paramount; thus she is called s3t.f snt mn'(t?) n nb t3wy: his daughter (but Sentnay's) sister. Snt is a collateral term which can serve a variety of kinship relations, and stepdaughter is a probable one. Note that Hatshepsut is called Tuthmosis III's sister. (See Gay Robbin's in Chronique d'Egypte 54(1979) 197ff for some kinship terms, but she does not delve into the difficulties of step relations. N.

Kanawati, CdE 51 (1956) 35-51 demonstrates that in the Old Kingdom the children of more than one wife were kept distinctly separated to avoid confusion. Thus one would not expect s3t to have been appropriate to a stepdaughter.) In tomb 96, Muttuy appears only in the lower chambers, while Sentnay seems to have been confined to the upper tomb chapel. (Some relief blocks reused upside down as inner door jambs in 96 Lower do name Sentnay, but they are clearly not original decoration. Perhaps they were once plastered over.) Sentnay's daughter's were Mutnefer, a songstress of Amun, who appears in 96 Upper and on CG 42126, and Nefertiry, a "Royal Ornament" who occurs in the same contexts. (The possibility exists that Muttuy is a hypocoristicon for Mutnefer, but the two do not occur as variants on the one monument.)

The fourth woman named in tomb 96 Lower is Meryt, another snt to Sennefer, but she is likely to have been a wife. The main chamber in the lower chapel is a pillared hall, and Meryt appears in nearly every scene and on almost every pillar. Her functional titles included nbt pr and šm't n Imn. Once she is termed šm't wrt nt Imn, "Chief Songstress of Amun"; this may be a frivolous embellishment to her regular cult rank, but Meryt is also called once hsyt n Myt m Isrw, "Singer of Mut in Isheru", and so she may have been a rather important woman within the female organization for Karnak temples. Certainly the wife of the Mayor of Thebes and sister-in-law of the Vizier (Amenemipet) would have been accorded ranks befitting her family's station.

Towards the end of my stay in Upper Egypt, I did a quick tally of numbers of titles (which have since been greatly increased). The results, however, seem to bear out the trend shown early that it was only with the reign of Hatshepsut that cult titles for women in Thebes (and perhaps elsewhere) became numerous. Before this time, non-royal women are difficult to document within the temples; I have found one šm'y on a Second Intermediate Period stela and one hnryt of Anubis on another. Otherwise cult titles are few into the first several reigns of the 18th dynasty. (Of course the documentation for this period is likewise scantier.) The honorific "Royal Ornament", however, is common in the earlier period and seems to decrease in usage as the cult ranks increase. I am interested to study these trends fully with the additional material I now have and with that I will continue to collect.

An interesting by-product of this study has been my discovery of five Theban tombs representing women with the scribe's writing equipment placed under their chairs as is often shown for men.

In the Egyptian Museum I have been particularly fortunate to have expanded my data on the late 18th dynasty. Many objects from Saqqara tombs are in the Museum, and they mention particularly the cults of Amun of Peru Nefer, Amun without cult center location (perhaps Memphis), and several times Hathor Mistress of



the West. Other objects from the Museum have given me cult titles for women in Bubastis, Heliopolis, and for court ranks, I have found a new royal nurse from Saqqara for the mid-18th dynasty, and two monuments of male royal nurses which I did not know before. There is a great deal more which could be detailed, but I will send copies of any publications as soon as they are completed.

I would like to thank particularly Drs. Mahmoud Abd el-Razik and Motawi Balboush for their assistance with my work in Upper Egypt, and I am most indebted to Dr. Mohammed Saleh for his and his excellent staff's aid in my work at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Dr. Mohammed el-Saghir, Director of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, and his Chief Inspector for the West Bank in Luxor, Mr. Mohammed Nasser, could not have been more helpful, and our local inspector in Luxor, Mr. Ibrahim Suleiman, was energetic, kind, and most particularly, very concerned about the condition of the monuments. In El Kab Mr. Yahya, having had only two days to have settled in as Inspector for Edfu, was nonetheless determined to locate all the keys needed and to visit the tombs with me and his sub-inspector.

Betsy M. Bryan  
ARCE Fellow 1983-84  
Funded by Smithsonian Institution

## EGYPTIAN BASKETRY TECHNOLOGY IN CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

### Introduction

At Qasr Ibrim in Egyptian Nubia, an archaeological site noted for its superb preservation of organic remains, literally thousands of baskets, mostly fragmentary, are recovered each season. These baskets have been systematically analyzed by the author and a colleague, Malinda Stafford, since 1980. To date over 6,000 baskets and fragments have been recorded using a methodology developed by the author (see Driskell 1981; Driskell and Stafford 1983; and Driskell 1983) which addresses both technical and stylistic attributes. These include material, form weaving type, splice type, rim or selvage type, center type, decorative motif and techniques, and various metric measurements.

While the archaeological deposits at Qasr Ibrim offered the quantity, quality and variety of specimens necessary to appreciate the wide range of variability in Nile Valley basketry, certain research questions were not easily addressed by this body of data alone. Specifically, preliminary basketry analysis at Qasr Ibrim suffered from 1) the absence of a chronology which identified temporal and regional stylistic and technical relationships, and 2) a poor understanding of the modes of production, distribution and consumption of basketry in the Nile Valley.

Regarding the former question, baskets even in fragmentary form, tend to be reused over and over again at Qasr Ibrim. The superb preservation of organics allows for reuse of baskets as pit liners, as patches and parts for other baskets, as roof liners, and as temper in mud mortar. In this case, then, the archaeological context of discovery offers little insight into the temporal and spatial context of production and primary use. Thus, it has been quite difficult to sort out the temporal placement of most basket types found at the site; likewise, it was previously impossible to determine whether a particular type was of local manufacture or imported to Qasr Ibrim. Yet museum specimens are preserved from other sites in Egypt making a comparison of temporal and regional characteristics of historical specimens possible.

Concerning the latter question, models of technological systems which delineate specific modes of production, distribution and consumption are not easily developed from archaeological data alone. Such is the case at Qasr Ibrim. However, traditional basket-making still survives in Egypt and the Sudan making direct observation of the means and methods of production and use possible.



Thus, the twin objectives of museum research into the specific technical and stylistic attributes of historical baskets from various areas and time periods in Egypt and the direct observation of modern basket-making occupied the research effort of the author during his tenure as an American Research Center Fellow. Specifically, the first four months of the fellowship period was spent in Cairo where collections from the National Museum, the Coptic Museum, the Museum of Islamic Art, the Agricultural Museum, and the Geographic Society collections were observed, recorded, and photographed. During the remaining eight months of the fellowship period, the author resided in Aswan and conducted ethnographic research into the basketry technology practiced by the women of New Nubia. These two aspects of the research are described in more detail below.

#### The Museum Research

After some initial paperwork and introductions to the various museums in Cairo with historical basketry specimens, the author developed a regular schedule of visits in which all of the baskets on display and many of the other curated baskets were examined. The largest collections from archaeological sites reside in the National Museum and the Agricultural Museum where a variety of baskets from pre-dynastic through classical times are available. Although the Coptic Museum and the Museum of Islamic Art each curate only a small collection of baskets, some of these proved to be quite informative. A rare and quite well-preserved collection of 19th century ethnographic specimens from Egypt, the Sudan, and the upper reaches of the Nile Valley is curated by the Geographic Society. These were acquired by the Society as gifts from patrons.

During this study more emphasis was placed on specimens from secure context, but unfortunately, many of the best preserved and most interesting of the baskets are from poorly known provenance. For instance, many of the baskets in the Agricultural Museum are from collections purchased from antiquities dealers decades ago and retain only a general provenance such as "Luxor area". This is unfortunate but is of course no reflection on the museum staffs who must work with what they have and does not distract from the display value of the specimens.

Another problem encountered during the museum work is that baskets from archaeological contexts are not numerous, and those from any particular site, region or period usually comprise a small, and probably poorly representative collection. Additionally, these baskets are only briefly discussed, if at all, in the site literature. Taken together, these aspects of the museum collections have made the interpretation of regional and temporal variability in Egyptian basketry less comprehensive

than had been originally hoped. However, certain general conclusions can be drawn at this time and others may be forthcoming as the data collected from the museum research is more adequately examined and digested.

First, while some major technical attributes of Egyptian coiled basket-making have remained fairly constant from the Old Kingdom down to present times, there appears an important stylistic reorientation in the early centuries A.D. The earlier coiled baskets, those that can be designated as Pharonic, reflect as a group a preoccupation with variation in texture of the basket's fabric as the principal means of decorative expression and elaboration. As such, several types of stitching can be seen, and basic designs are rendered by shifts in the stitching pattern, or by over stitching or applique. Rarely do dyed elements and variations in color play an important role in the rendering of design motifs in these earlier baskets. Thus, this Pharonic tradition is distinctive from a later, Medieval tradition or possibly traditions, in which color rather than texture is the principal vehicle for decorative elaboration. In the later baskets, the stitching type often remains constant while new colored elements are introduced to produce the desired designs.

Second, open-work twined containers made of small reeds seem to be almost totally from the Pharonic period. This technology seems to have decreased in popularity and disappeared in the early centuries A.D. Similarly, other twined baskets and matts appear to decrease in popularity but some types of heavy, utility matting do persist up to and into contemporary times. Some of these twined matts are rather elaborately decorated during the Islamic period with inscriptions and colored elements.

Third, plaited baskets, that is those that are plaited as a single unit, also are primarily restricted to the Pharonic period in Egypt. While these baskets decrease in popularity during the early centuries A.D., another method of making plaited containers which involves forming the basket from a long, thin plaited strip of palm leaves assumes dominance and appears to rapidly and totally replace the alternate technology as the method for making plaited utility baskets as well as small, finely woven and often decorated baskets. This same shift can also be seen in plaited matts.

Thus, in most basketry technologies in Egypt and Lower Nubia, a Pharonic style can be distinguished from a later, Medieval style. The reasons for this shift in techniques, seemingly at the same time in several basketry technologies (that is, coiled, twined and plaited), is not understood at present. Therefore, a note of caution should be sounded concerning these preliminary conclusions. As suggested above, the data recorded and used thus far is far from exhaustive and is not very representative of all



periods and regions of Egypt. Thus, these conclusions should be considered preliminary and thought of as working hypotheses at the present time.

### The Ethnographic Study

The second objective of the research was to closely examine present-day basket making in Egypt. A single area, New Nubia, the area where the Nubian villages of Egypt were relocated before flooding of Lake Nasser, was chosen because of the obvious relationship of these peoples with Qasr Ibrim. After introductions with members of the New Nubia government in Nasser City, as well as introductions to appropriate officials in Aswan, the author and an Egyptian research assistant developed a two step program of study.

The first step involved visits to most of the villages in the six administrative districts (Ballana, Abu Simbel, Eneiba, el Malki, Kalapsha, and Dakka) as well as visits to the appropriate district administrations. At this point, the Social Affairs office was very helpful and my project was assisted greatly by the Director for Handicrafts in New Nubia, a person working with the Social Affairs office.

The second step involved actual selection of informants and extensive interviews with them. Initially, several women from each of the administrative districts were selected upon advice of the Social Affairs office, local social affairs officers, and consent of the informant. These women, numbering about 25 in all, were the principal or primary informants for the study. They ranged in age from about 20 to 85. Most were over the age of 35 however, and learned basket-making in Old Nubia. Any particular interview was usually attended by other women, neighbors and relatives, who were also encouraged to participate.

Three sets of interviews were conducted with each informant, or more often, each set of informants. Interviews ranged from strict use of a survey instrument with defined questions to open-ended participant-observation of actual basket-making techniques. The research assistant conducted the interviews in Arabic (always with the author present), and served as translator of Arabic/English. In most cases a Nubian/Arabic translator was also needed: this task was always taken on by a person from the local social affairs office. Interviews were in the homes of the informants.

The first interview schedule requested biographical data from the informant such as place of birth, residence history, residence history of the parents, and the age at which the craft was learned. It also solicited details about how the informant

learned to make baskets and who served as teacher. Other questions explored such areas as what types of baskets were made and how they differed from those of the informant's teacher. This first interview series gave the author some basic information about the process of acquisitions of the craft, about feelings toward innovation, and about the microtradition in which the informant was trained and participated.

The second series of interviews were concentrated on techniques of basket-making. Each group of women was asked to describe certain procedures and demonstrate various techniques. This included questions about procurement of materials, preference in materials, and preparation of materials. Each informant was asked to demonstrate techniques in basket-making such as ways to start a basket, stitching technique, splicing technique, and finishing technique. Photographs were taken of these demonstrations when permitted by the informant.

The final interviews were oriented to design and function of Nubian baskets. By the time of this series of interviews, the author had photographed a large number of baskets. These photographs were arranged into a "pattern book" and each informant was asked a series of questions about the photographs. These questions included the name and meaning of the design, its etiology (that is, where it came from) and whether they made the particular type of basket. Finally, a separate series of basket photographs was used to solicit answers to questions about Nubian names of the basket type as well as its function in the household.

A detailed analysis of the data accumulated during the ethnographic study has not yet been concluded but the study documented present-day as well as remembered aspects of the craft including materials and methods of constructions, etiology and nomenclature of design motifs, and basket form and function. However, several preliminary conclusions can be drawn at this time.

Basket form and function varied little from one village to another, but decorative patterns were localized by village and district. In contrast, technical characteristics, (e.g., method of material preparation, type of start, and splicing technique) are quite variable even among people of the same village, but are generally the same within the workgroup (usually neighbors and relatives who usually work together in making baskets). Thus, basketmaking in Lower Nubia formed a nested set of traditions; a pan-Nubian tradition of form and function, village/district traditions of decoration, and micro-traditions of technical attributes.

Prior to immigration, basketmaking was part of every woman's work day and was an important time for socializing with workmates. In



Old Nubia, baskets were used in the home, given as gifts, and sometimes sold or traded. Now, most women do not make baskets, but most of the traditions persist at least ideally if not practically expressed. But while basketmaking will continue for a while longer as a means of livelihood or enjoyment for some women, the social milieu in which decorated food platters and mats are a tangible part, is rapidly disintegrating in the face of assimilation into the mainstream of modern Egyptian life.

### Conclusion

Research on historical baskets in the museum collections in Cairo point to an amazing continuity of the technology throughout its history in the Nile Valley as well as certain important shifts in the technical and stylistic aspects of Egyptian basketry. The reasons for the apparent convergence of major shifts in the first centuries A.D., is not yet understood and may be an erroneous conclusion resulting from a poorly representative sampling of temporal and regional aspects of the technology. Additional analysis and thought must be given to this seeming change.

At any rate, present-day basketmakers in the Nile valley are at the end of a historical continuum of basketmaking at least 5,000 years old. Basket makers in New Nubia are still practicing this ancient craft, but the accoutrements of modern life have made considerable inroads into the demand for basketry. Young women are no longer learning or practicing the traditional craft; thus, it is likely that the traditional methods, folklore and roles of baskets in Nubian society will not survive much longer.

Ethnographic research into the production and use of baskets by Nubians has produced very informative data which, because the parallels of basket types and context are so considerable, can be used to construct an excellent model of basket production, distribution and use at Qasr Ibrim. It is certain that this insight, uniquely gained through actual observation of techniques and communication with basket-makers, will provide the social dimension to the otherwise rather socially sterile data from archaeological data alone.

This research is a pioneering effort in the area of Egyptian basketry studies in that only very short and superficial accounts of historical trends (see Crowfoot 1967; Lucas 1962) or contemporary techniques (Blackman 1927) have been published. Additionally, little research into Nubian basket weaving has been conducted and none published. Thus, the research was a successful first step in providing both historical and ethnographic data useful in the interpretation of continuity and change in Egyptian basketry. Thus is particularly the case with the ethnographic study and its application to Nubian archaeology. In other settings, the data accumulated to date may be

inadequate. Additional study of archaeological collections in Egypt and those residing elsewhere is warranted.

### Acknowledgements

The author would like to express his appreciation to the American Research Center in Egypt for this fellowship and to its personnel for their help in the research project. Also, the author owes a great debt of gratitude to the U.S. Information Agency for providing funds to support the fellowship. Unfortunately, there is not enough space to thank all those people who have helped during the research. However, special thanks go to the staff of each of the museums in which research was carried out as well as to the Egypt Antiquities Organization who reviewed the petition for museum research. Also, I would like to thank the many friends, new and old, in Aswan and New Nubia for a multitude of favors and kindnesses. Last, but certainly not least, I owe a deeply felt measure of gratitude to my research assistant and friend during my work in Aswan.

Boyce N. Driskell  
ARCE Fellow 1984-85  
Funded by USIA



# THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC DIALECTICS (JADAL)

My project was the study of the development of dialectics (jadāl) in Islamic jurisprudence. It involved working with Arabic manuscripts of fiqh, uṣūl al-fiqh and logic. Before describing my project in detail, I must begin by expressing my thanks to the institutions that played a role in making my research possible. First, my thanks go to the officials of the Egyptian National Library (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya) who were gracious enough to let me examine their immense manuscript collection. Their kindness and promptness in fulfilling my requests was of lasting benefit to my research. Second of all, I would like to thank the Arab League Microfilm Institute for allowing me access to their collection. There, too, I was treated with kindness and helpfulness. Without access to these two important manuscript collections my entire project would have been fruitless. Finally, I must thank the American Research Center for facilitating my stay in Egypt and the United States Information Agency for funding my project.

When I made my original proposal to come to Egypt, I had planned to study manuscripts on Islamic law using them as the basis of my research. I had acquired some information about the development of juristic dialectics from reports taken from the ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā' literature of the tenth and eleventh centuries as well as from an excursus in Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddima. The former reported that in the third and fourth centuries of the Hijra there had lived jurists famous for their skills and writings on jadāl, dialectics. Mention is made of Umar Ibn Suraj (d. 306/918), and Abū Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (d. 450/1058). Of the writings mentioned of these great jurists none have yet been discovered. On the other hand Ibn Khaldūn, who was the first person to consider the development of Islamic juristic dialectics mentions two authors of "methods" (ṭarīqa) in dialectics, Fakhr al-Islām Abū al-Yusr Muḥammad al-Pazdawī (d. 493/1100) and Rukn al-Dīn Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-ʿAmīdī (d. 615/1218). Although al-Pazdawī's ṭarīqa work has not survived, a copy of his work on uṣūl al-fiqh, Maʿrifat al-hujaj al-sharʿiyya, has survived in the copy of the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, uṣūl al-fiqh number 232. So too two copies of al-ʿAmīdī's al-Ṭarīqa al-ʿAmīdiyya fī al-jadāl wa al-khilāf have survived in the Dar al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya. It was my original intention to use these texts as the basis of my study; for I hoped to rely upon the texts themselves and not secondary reports of their contents in order to study the development of dialectics.

When I arrived here, however, I discovered that al-Pazdawī's work was a traditional uṣūl al-fiqh work and did not show any evidence of his "method" in dialectics. Al-ʿAmīdī's work however is a useful guide to juristic dialectics. Before discussing it,

however, I would like to mention two other earlier works of the same genre that I had the good fortune to discover in the Dār al-Kutub. The earliest one was composed by a certain al-Ḥasan ibn Shuʿaib al-Marwazī (d. 432/1069) entitled Ṭarīqat al-khilāf baina al-Shāfiʿiyya wal-Ḥanafīyya maʿa dhikr al-adilla li-kull minhumā (MS. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya. fiqh Shāfiʿī number 1523). In the Dar al-Kutub is a copy of a work from a slightly later period--al-Ṭarīqa al-Raḍawiyya of Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Nisaburī al-Sarakhsī (d. 544/1149). All three works are written using the jadāl style of question and answer, and all are arranged according to the customary order of works on Islamic case law, the so called furūʿ. Thus one positive result of my study was to clearly identify the genre of juristic jadāl literature known as the ṭarīqa. In order to understand the novelty of this genre of juristic literature, one would only have to turn to the ikhtilāf al-fuqahā' literature of the second and third centuries. In such works the various points of dispute among great jurists were listed. Sometimes their method of argument is also presented. There is, however, no attempt made to argue against other opinions of law-schools that are opposed to the one selected. This however is the method that we find in the ṭarīqa works from al-Marwazī to al-ʿAmīdī. The opinion of the school is presented and then the "method" of refuting opposing opinions from the different law-schools are proffered. There is a draw-back, though, in using these works. They display the techniques of juristic dialectics without discussing the theory behind them. This was treated by another species of the genre of juristic dialectics-- works on "jadāl theory."

These theoretical works on jadāl generally speaking had the word jadāl in their title and were devoted to comparative uṣūl al-fiqh, or, comparative legal philosophy. Two such theoretical works have survived in the manuscript collections of Cairo. The first is the work of a famous Hanbalite theologian and jurist, Abū al-Wafā', ʿAlī ibn ʿAqīl whose Kitāb al-Jadāl is in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Taimūr uṣūl, number 159. The other work is that of the great Shafiʿite theologian and jurist Imām al-Haramayn Abū al-Maʿālī ʿAbd al-Malik al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085), and is entitled al-Kāfiyya fī al-jadāl. The unique manuscript of the Azhar collection (ādāb al-baḥth number 10633) was recently edited by Professor Dr. Fauqiya Husain Mahmud. These two works are extremely helpful in solving the puzzle presented by the ṭarīqa works that I mentioned above. They give the theoretical framework for using the techniques of juristic dialectic and also discuss rules of conduct and politeness that should govern the debate. Access to the manuscripts was of assistance in clarifying the text in such places that typographical error had slipped in. Both texts throw light upon the earlier period of jurisprudence when the method of dialectic was first assimilated. Al-Juwaynī mentions the writings and contributions of early Shafiʿite jurists, while Ibn ʿAqīl mentions those of Hanbalite jurists. Both works then



supplement the knowledge that we gain from bibliographical works. But of utmost importance for my project was the form and organization of these two works; for, when seen in the back-drop of earlier texts on theological dialectics they are clearly of that tradition. Roughly speaking, it appears that the jurists took over the theological method of conducting a debate as well as the techniques that were used by the theologians. We have examples where the wording of an early theological text and a later juristic text such as al-Juwaynī's are the same, save that al-Juwaynī has substituted an example from jurisprudence for a theological one. This was indeed what happened at the earliest stage; but even at this stage a new precision and vocabulary of juristic dialectics had developed. And this new tradition was later to free itself of any overt connection with its theological past. At this stage we also see the initial inroads of Aristotelian logic into Islamic dialectical thinking. Aristotle, after all, had written the first treatise on dialectical theory, the Topics, and there has been much speculation on the part of orientalists as to whether Aristotelian dialectical teaching had a direct influence on the development of Islamic dialectical theory. At this stage of my research, it appears that the early teaching was not directly influenced by Aristotle's Topics, although there are often surprising coincidences of subject and technique. This however may be the result of their sharing the same theme rather than that the Islamic scholars copied down what they they read from Aristotle. Islamic dialectics was, generally speaking a wholly Islamic phenomenon and a tribute to Islamic culture.

Later works on dialectics do exhibit philosophical influence-- that of logic. In a theoretical work on juristic dialectics, the Irshād, Rukn al-Dīn al-ʿAmīdī discusses logical techniques in dialectic: mutual implication (talāzum), mutual incompatibility (tanāfin) and the method of agreement and disagreement (dawarān). An inspection of his ṭarīqa shows that there too he uses these new techniques for problems of case law. Thus at times, he argues from the logic of implication to prove that his lawschool's opinion about a given controversial question (mas'alat al-khilāf) is the correct one. Thus, to take a typical example, he argues that if the zakāt tax were obligatory upon the debtor, it would also be obligatory upon the beggar (faqīr). But the latter is clearly false, and therefore, the former is also false. His argument is based upon the logical truth that in any true implication, the antecedent (muqaddam) may not be true when the consequent is false. This logical way of thinking and arguing is not characteristic of works before the time of al-Juwaynī. It seems that the influx of logical argumentation was due to the writings of Imām Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī. It was al-Ghazzālī whose works on Aristotelian logic made logic a suitable tool for Islamic logic and jurisprudence. He wrote a treatise on theoretical jadāl that has unfortunately not survived. However in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's

Kitāb al-Jadal, which is part of the Arab League's micro-film collection (al-tauḥīd wa al-milal wa al-niḥal, number 190), we do find a fragment of al-Ghazzālī's Muntakhal in which he gives a definition of dialectics that was fairly standard for his period: "it is a discussion between two contending parties in order to establish the truth or destroy the false or to show which opinion is more probable."

Probability played a large role in Islamic juristic thinking since there arose new cases (ḥāditha) whose juristic status (ḥukm) were not explicitly covered by Scripture (nass), the Sunnah, or the consensus (ijmāʿ). In such cases, the jurists were compelled to use their independent reasoning (ijtihād) in order to determine, to the best of their ability, the legal status of the "test" case. Such cases produced, naturally enough a variety of opinions which later became the subjects of dispute between the various law-schools. It was the object of the works on jadāl, later called khilāf works, to regulate these discussions and to reveal the correct opinion.

In view of the vast number of manuscripts that are still unavailable, I would hesitate to draw any general conclusions about my research. My preliminary results indicate that there were two genres of juristic dialectic writings, the theoretical and the practical: that the early works are dependent upon theological models: and that Aristotelian logic first became important at a stage after the time of al-Ghazzālī.

Larry Miller  
ARCE Fellow 1983-84  
Funded by USIA



## NOTES

### 1987 Annual Meeting

The next annual meeting of ARCE members will take place in Memphis, Tennessee, Friday through Sunday, April 24-26, 1987. Please note the time and place now and begin to think of possible papers and topics for discussion. Our hosts for this meeting, aside from the City of Memphis itself, is Memphis State University's Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology. Prof. Rita Freed is in charge (tel: 901-454-2350). Rooms and panels will be held in the Holiday Inn Crowne Plaza, 250 North Main Street (tel: 901-527-7300). Please specify the ARCE/Memphis State group rate which is approximately \$49 for a single.

### Fellows' Luncheon

At the 1986 MESA meeting in Boston (Sheraton-Boston Hotel) there will be a friends' and former ARCE fellows' luncheon. This happens Saturday, November 22 in the convention hotel at 1 pm. Further details will be announced later.

### New Cairo Director

On August 1, 1986 Dr. Robert B. Betts assumed the position of ARCE Cairo director replacing Dr. Richard N. Verdery. Dr. Verdery is returning to the U.S. after his two year term in Egypt and we must certainly thank him for his concern and interest over these two years in the welfare both of individual ARCE fellows and researchers and of the organization as a whole.

Bob Betts received an M.A. (1964) and Ph.D. (1968) from The Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies with a concentration in International Relations and Middle East Studies. His dissertation was on Christian Arab Minorities and their Political, Economic and Cultural Roles in Middle Eastern Societies.

His work experience includes a year at the Library of Congress as an Arabic Language Analyst; one tour as Third Secretary and Commercial Officer in the American Embassy in Kuwait, several years as Lecturer at The American College in Greece, Athens College and the University of Maryland (European Division), four years as Residence Center Director, The University of La Verne, (U.S. Naval Communications Station, Nea Makri, Greece), and nine years (1971-80) as Founder Director of the Hellenic International School in Athens, and most recently as an executive for several international book companies.

Betts has a keen interest in vocal and instrumental music of the High Renaissance and is a proficient organist/choirmaster (this

includes a previous period, 1982-83, at All Saints Anglican Cathedral in Cairo.)

### Walker Resignation

As of December 31 Paul Walker, Executive Director, will leave the ARCE for a full time appointment as Associate Professor in Islamic Thought at McGill University's Institute of Islamic Studies. Dr. Walker has been with the ARCE since June 1, 1976 serving first as Cairo director and then as Executive Director (since 1980).



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